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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

TOP SECRET

INFORMATION August 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM:

Phil Odeen ow

SUBJECT:

MBFR Work Program

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As a result of your remarks at the VP/SRG meeting August 3, we have directed the Agencies to undertake the attached program of work. It basically consists of three parts:

- -- An overall evaluation report on the options and issues which have been examined in the MBFR study process over the last two years.
- -- Supporting papers on Warsaw Pact data uncertainty, on verification capabilities, mixed package options and collateral constraints.
- -- A longer term study effort to reexamine some of the basic assumptions and elements of MBFR, such as Pact mobilization and readiness capabilities, U.S. reinforcement capabilities and possible improvements, alternative ways to structure optimally a 10-20% cut in U.S. and Allied forces, and a parametric analysis of the wargame we have been using. (This will let us test the effect of different, probably more realistic, assumptions and scenarios.)

We plan to have the Evaluation Report completed by August 25 in preparation for a Verification Panel meeting at the end of the month and in order to send the analysis to NATO in early September. The work program is attached at Tab A.

State Dept. OSD, JCS reviews completed

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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August 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger
Maj Gen W. D. Crittenberger
Mr. Raymond Garthoff
Mr. Palph McGuire

Mr. Ralph McGuire Mr. Bruce Clarke

Mr. J. David Linebaugh

SUBJECT:

MBFR Work Program

Evaluation Report

We must begin work on an overall evaluation report on MBFR -- our objectives, the underlying issues and options. The options to be considered will include:

- -- 10% symmetrical option,
- -- 20/10% stationed/indigenous symmetrical option,
- -- 30% symmetrical option,
- -- the common ceiling option, variants A, B, and C,
- -- mixed package options.

We will also want to address some of the underlying issues affecting our evaluation of the options. This should include an evaluation of:

- -- the impact of data uncertainty on the options,
- -- our verification capabilities for the options,

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-- the alternative types of cuts (manpower thin out, units, etc.) and the disposition of reduced equipment in the light of verification capabilities and in terms of resulting risks to, and capabilities of NATO,

-- the role of collateral constraints in the options.

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This effort will draw upon previous work on the options and issues, including earlier evaluation reports. An outline of the new evaluation report will be developed by the NSC staff. There will be a meeting of a VPWG drafting group to consider the outline August 9. The target for a completed interagency coordinated paper is August 25.

In this connection OJCS should re-run the dynamic analysis of the Common Ceiling Option (Variants A, B and C) on bases comparable to the previous analysis of symmetrical options. Additionally, OSD should provide comparable static ratio analyses on the Common Ceiling and symmetrical options. This work must be completed by mid-August.

Supporting Papers

To support the preparation of the evaluation report it will be necessary to do the following studies and papers:

- A. A reassessment of Warsaw Pact order of battle intelligence which would produce a data base for MBFR planning purposes. This will be aimed at:
 - -- identifying areas of agreement,
 - -- reconciling differences reflected in the estimates,
- -- identifying remaining areas of difference and the reason for the differences,
- -- identifying areas of uncertainty and the reasons for the uncertainty.
- -- assessing the impact of the remaining differences and uncertainties on the options.
- -- identifying the differences between resulting data base and NATO data.

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This paper will be prepared under NSC direction with the participation of DIA and CIA. A first draft will be due August 18.

- B. Net assessment of verification capabilities in regard to the options and reduction measures. This should include:
 - -- range of uncertainty,
 - -- method of verification,
 - -- degree of Pact cheating before detection,
 - -- effect of cheating on Pact capabilities,

CIA will have the responsibility for developing the initial draft by August 14.

- C. We need to pull together the analysis of mixed package options. OSD should provide an analysis of the tank/tac nuke option contained with OSD paper on MBFR issues of July 28. JCS should provide an analysis of the option proposed by US CINCEUR. ACDA/OSD should provide an analysis of any other option that should be considered. ACDA will be responsible for assembling a first draft by August 11.
- D. Constraints packages to go with the options should be developed by OSD. They should be evaluated in terms of their effect on verification, warning, and Warsaw Pact and NATO capabilities including flexibility for force improvements and restructuring. A first draft should be available by August 15.

Broadening our MBFR Effort

In addition we need to work on some broader, in-depth studies to support our MBFR effort.

A. A re-examination of Pact buildup and mobilization rate and readiness capability. CIA should do the first draft by the end of September.

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- B. An analysis of U.S. reinforcement, readiness and mobilization capabilities with a view to identifying problem areas and providing alternative ways to improve these capabilities in the context of MBFR. OSD should prepare a first draft by September 5.
- C. An examination of alternative ways to take a 10-20% cut in U.S. and Allied forces in a manner which would optimize NATO military capabilities in particular its initial combat capability. OSD should have a first draft prepared by August 26.
- D. An analysis of allied order of battle data, areas of uncertainty, the effect of a 10-20% reduction on their capabilities and an estimate of the manner in which the allies would be likely to take such cuts. DIA will be responsible for producing an initial draft by September 5.
- E. A parametric dynamic analysis of the base case and the options. The changed parameters should include:
 - -- no buildup scenarios and extended buildup scenarios,
 - -- Variations on Pact readiness after buildup.

ACDA will carry out this analysis on a comparable basis to the OJCS analysis. Runs on the base case, and the options listed above should be available by early October.

Philip A. Odeen Director, Program Analysis

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